PROCEEDINGS

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE

MEMORIAL GATEWAY

TO

JONATHAN EDWARDS

AT THE OLD BURYING GROUND

SOUTH WINDSOR

25 JUNE 1929

BY THE CONNECTICUT SOCIETY

OF THE

COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

BX 7260 .E3 P7 1929

Proceedings of the
dedication of the Memorial

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
JAN 24 1930
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Proceedings of the

Dedication of the Memorial Gateway to

Jonathan Edwards

at the Old Burying Ground South Windsor

25 *June* 1929

by The Connecticut Society of the

Colonial Dames of America

National Society of the Colonial dames of America.
Connecticut.

New Haven: Privately Printed

1929

FOREWORD

THE matter of a memorial to Jonathan Edwards was first discussed by the Landmark Committee in 1912, and the "minutes" of that year show that correspondence was carried on with Mr. Lewis Sperry, a lawyer of Hartford, Conn., familiar with South Windsor; with Judge R. M. Grant, a lawyer of East Windsor Hill, Conn.; and with Mr. Richard H. Dana, Jr., architect, of New York City.

In his letter of March 27, 1917, Mr. Sperry wrote that the Edwards property, where Jonathan Edwards was born, was located in the town of South Windsor on the east side of the Connecticut River, near the East Windsor Hill post office; that in 1845 the town of East Windsor was divided and is now known as East Windsor and South Windsor; and that the house had burned down, but the hearthstone on which the Reverend Timothy Edwards, father of Jonathan Edwards, used to kneel and pray, was supposedly in the cellar of an old house on the property.

As a memorial to Jonathan Edwards had been suggested, the next step was to decide as to what form this should take. The burying ground of South Windsor was visited and there tombstones were found marking the graves of the father and mother of Jonathan Edwards. It is a cause for regret that Jonathan Edwards himself was buried, not at South Windsor, but at Princeton, N.J., where he died soon after he became the president of the College of New Jersey.

In 1917, as soon as South Windsor heard of the plans for this Memorial Gateway, a letter came from Judge

Grant, saying that the Cemetery Association would like to coöperate with the Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America to the extent of providing a new fence for the entire front of the burying ground and one that would be in accord with the Gateway. In consequence, the beautiful metal fence that bounds the burying ground on the east and adds so greatly to the appearance of our Gateway is South Windsor's generous contribution to the Edwards Memorial:

Owing to the War, further work at that time was impossible, but in October, 1928, the Landmark Committee was authorized to ask Mr. Dana for final plans and to finish the memorial.

The bronze gates swing between two beautifully laid brick pillars, capped by stone urns, in the approved Georgian manner, and each pillar carries two stone tablets. Those on the eastern front, facing the road, commemorate Jonathan Edwards and his parents; those facing the burying ground refer respectively to the situation of Jonathan Edwards' birthplace in South Windsor and to the fact that the Gateway is given to the town of South Windsor by the Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America. The illustrations accompanying this pamphlet show these details. It is of further interest to know that the bricks used in the pillars have been made in South Windsor and that the lettering on the tablets is that used on many of the old tombstones of Jonathan Edwards' time.

At the request of Miss Annie B. Jennings, our state chairman of the Committee on Historic Landmarks, I have gathered together and edited the Proceedings at the Dedi-

cation of the Memorial Gateway to Jonathan Edwards by The Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America, at South Windsor, June 25, 1929. Miss Jennings, feeling that the addresses delivered on this occasion contain much of interest and should be preserved, has had this pamphlet printed and a copy sent to each member of our Connecticut Society. "It is a great pleasure and privilege for me," writes Miss Jennings, "to put such a very small bit toward making even more complete this very stirring occasion." It is needless to say that on my part I consider it a great privilege to have coöperated with Miss Jennings in the publishing of this pamphlet, and I am sure that every member of the Connecticut Society joins me in warmest appreciation of her courtesy and generosity.

EVANGELINE WALKER ANDREWS

PROGRAM

Music. *York Tune. Orchestra.*

The Flag Ceremony. *The Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America.*

Prayer. *The Rev. Dr. Curtis Geer, of the Hartford Theological Seminary.*

Hymn. *Thy Praise alone, O Lord, doth reign. Congregation.*

Presiding Officer. *The Rt. Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster.*

A Few Words on the Birthplace. *The Rev. Dr. Sherrod Soule, of Hartford.*

For the Family. *Mrs. James S. Williams, of Glastonbury.*

The Theological Significance of Jonathan Edwards. *The Rev. Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, of Yale University.*

Jonathan Edwards. *Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University.*

Presentation of the Gateway, on behalf of The Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America. *Mrs. Charles M. Andrews, President.*

Acceptance of the Gateway for the Town of South Windsor. *Judge R. M. Grant.*

Hymn. *O God, beneath Thy guiding hand. Congregation.*

Benediction. *The Rt. Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster.*

PRAYER

REVEREND DR. CURTIS M. GEER

ALMIGHTY and Everlasting God, Thou art from eternity and we are the creatures of yesterday. Yet we come to Thee asking that Thou wilt take notice of us and grant to us Thy blessing as we assemble in Thy presence. Thou hast led Thy people through the passing centuries, and Thou art with them today. We thank Thee that, when the fulness of time had come for the settlement of this land, Thou didst choose those who placed loyalty to Thee above all earthly treasure. We rejoice in the many evidences of divine care and goodness through the generations. We thank Thee for these churches which were gathered so long ago and which have witnessed to the vitality and value of the Christian experience. As Thy servants have worshipped they have gained new strength for the conflicts of life which were often hard. They have borne testimony to their love and reverence for the Heavenly Father, and they have endured as seeing Him who is invisible.

We thank Thee for the pastors and teachers who have witnessed to the faith that was in them and for the influence for good which was exerted on many lives coming under the guidance of these men of God. We think today with gratitude of the men and women who, having lived in these communities, have

then gone out to carry the impress of the pastor's words with them to other states and to the uttermost parts of the earth. We praise Thee, O Lord, for the family life which was lived in these homes, where Jesus was the welcome guest, where the family altar was established, where boys and girls gained a knowledge of Thee and of Thy word which supported them in the hard experiences of life. We thank Thee for the family which we honor today, and for its influence which in so many ways continues down to the present time.

As the generations have come and passed, O Lord, we are conscious of the changes which have come to our beloved land. In our days of greater comfort and leisure we would retain the old time loyalty to Thee. Help us that in our days of prosperity in the things that are material we may not be neglectful of spiritual values. May there be increasingly in our lives a delight in Thy service, and not simply in the goods Thou hast bestowed upon us. May the church of the Living God mean much to us in our lives as it did to our fellow Christians of long ago. May we, like them, look for the guidance of God in the many duties and pleasures that occupy our attention day by day. We pray that our family life may be noble and holy and uplifting, so that as our children go out into the world, they may have that preparation of mind and spirit which shall enable them to make their contribution to the growth of the Kingdom of God. Grant Thy

blessing upon us as we further wait before Thee, that the words which may be spoken and the thoughts which come into our minds may be an inspiration to higher and nobler lives.

We ask in our Savior's name. AMEN.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

BISHOP BREWSTER

IT is counted by me a signal honor to preside on this occasion. We of Connecticut may well take pride in the fact that among her sons are two transcending geniuses in the sphere of the philosophy of religion, Jonathan Edwards and Horace Bushnell. It has long been my conviction that the birthplace of him who was intellectually the towering figure in our colonial history should be marked by some memorial.

It is fitting that this Memorial to be dedicated today should come from the Colonial Dames of Connecticut. In Jonathan Edwards' nature, as in his countenance, may be found, along with virile vigor of thought, certain feminine qualities: a sensitive delicacy, a gentleness and tender grace. This may be owing, in part at least, to his being the only son among ten sisters, four before him and six after him. It is most fitting that women should have their large part in this Memorial. These ladies by this generous gift are marking an epoch in our colonial history, and rendering a genuine service to our country.

We are commemorating a man great as a metaphysician, a profound thinker, who moulded the thought of his time; great as a theologian; great as a preacher, the mover in the Great Awakening of religion in this land; great in his personal goodness, great in his vision of and communion with God; philosopher, theologian, saint.

*THE BIRTHPLACE OF JONATHAN EDWARDS**

SHERROD SOULE

HARD by this historic "God's Acre" is the birthplace of one who was and is one of the world's profoundest scholars and greatest thinkers. This Memorial Gateway marks the resting place of his ancestors. There remains the further duty to mark suitably the spot where this intellectual giant and genius first saw the light. The memorial for the Birthplace should be of such a size and sort that "he who runs may read" and of such enduring beauty as to enlist the interest of generations into the far future.

Jonathan Edwards first distinguished himself by being born a boy, being the only one in a long, monotonous line of ten sisters. His precocious intellect was revealed in tender years. At the age of twenty, with academic and divinity studies completed, he accepted the call to the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Bolton, Conn., a church now painfully small and obscure. In December 1722 he wrote to the people as follows: "I assure you, I have a great esteem of and affection to the people of your town, so far as I am acquainted with them, and should account it a smile of Providence upon me, if ever I should be

*This article was read by Bishop Brewster, as Dr. Soule could not be present.

settled amongst such a people, as your Society seems at present, to me, to be." In November 1723, the following record is entered in *his own handwriting* upon the town records, "Upon the terms that are here recorded I do consent to be the settled pastor of this town of Bolton, Jonathan Edwards."

Connecticut is such holy historic ground that in the making of deserved memorials there should be no end. May this auspicious beginning to the tribe of Timothy and Jonathan be continued till due honor is paid, for the Birthplace too, is worthy of boulder and marking. Balfour, the statesman of England, places Jonathan Edwards among the ten greatest intellects this world has produced.

We ought to be co-workers with Jehovah for the Psalmist says, "The Lord should count when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there."

THE FAMILY OF JONATHAN EDWARDS

MRS. JAMES S. WILLIAMS

IT was in November 1694 that a pastor was chosen to lead the newly organized parish on the "East side of the Great River." He was Timothy Edwards, grandson of William Edwards of England and Wales, and early settler of New Haven, whose ancestor, Richard Edwards, was a distinguished clergyman of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was a graduate of Harvard College, with the distinction of having obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the morning and Master of Arts in the afternoon of the same day.

He brought with him, after a brief wedding trip of eight days, his bride, Esther Stoddard, who had enjoyed the advantage of having been educated in Boston. She was the daughter of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, by whose teachings Timothy Edwards quaintly said he had "much profited"; and was granddaughter of the Rev. John Warham, who founded in Plymouth, England, the first Congregational Church to take root in Connecticut, accompanying him as it did in the *Mary and John* and finally settling in Windsor. She was also a great granddaughter of Emmanuel Downing, whose son, popularly known as the "Godfather of Downing Street," gave his name to that thoroughfare, the governmental center of the British Empire. Reared in

circles of culture and refinement, the young minister and his wife came into their own home, where for more than sixty years they led a beautiful and intellectual life. Richard Edwards, father of Timothy, a wealthy merchant of Hartford, made him a gift of a farm on which he built a house that was to be known as the "Workshop of Theology."

It is sad to think that the ancient landmark is no more. It is described in writings of that century as a fine dwelling, and stood with its long side to the lovely winding street. The flatness of its front was broken at the center by a projection, which formed a porch below and a little room above the front door called "the study," where for many years were written the sermons, which next to the Bible were the intellectual food of Timothy Edwards' people. The house was set firmly in the soil, for our ancestors believed that an air space under a dwelling made it cold. The roof was steep, made of rived shingles that were never changed, and were still serviceable a hundred and eighteen years afterward when the house was taken down. The little diamond-paned windows were set in lead and the whole effect must have been delightful. The old well with its sweep remains the only landmark today, although the stepping-stone of the door was made the corner stone of the theological institute of Connecticut in 1834, when it was bought from the man who had utilized it in a building upon the old site.

Within the house there was much superior woodwork and around three sides of the living room ran a bench on which in later years Mr. Edwards' pupils were wont to be seated. From the house the land sloped east to a brook which flowed at the foot of a steeper hill covered with fine trees. As the house was not ready for occupancy when the young pastor and his wife arrived, they had temporary quarters elsewhere; but when all was in readiness, the good wives of the village combined to bring from their stores many gifts to stock the new pantry, or buttery, as it was called. Here, in this house, the gifted husband cared for the souls of his people and taught his young pupils, for the salary a small parish could pay had to be supplemented by tutoring; and the wife looked well to the ways of her household, notwithstanding her Boston education. I like the story told of the Rev. Timothy that when he was asked how many and what hides a tanner should return to him, said simply, "My wife knows." She took the burden of petty cares from his shoulders that he might be free to study, preach, and teach.

Not until 1698 did the double ceremony of dedicating the new church and ordaining the pastor take place. It is hard for one familiar with the austerity of Puritan life to realize that the ceremonies were followed by an ordination ball in the minister's house, one of the invitations to which, in the minister's hand and with his signature, is still in existence.

A careful list of the provisions, kept by one of the deacons, includes an extraordinary amount of meat, with wheat, meal, sugar, cheese, butter and eggs, and—let us whisper it gently—"Cider-malt-rum-hops and wine." Other times, other manners; but we believe there was no unseemly gayety, although the parish undoubtedly had a jolly good time.

The meeting house then dedicated was a plain but substantial structure, and occupied the ground on which stands the building in which we are met together. The burying ground of "Mr. Edwards' church" became the last resting place of all who died within many miles; and an old record tells us that the body of a young woman was carried seven miles upon the shoulders of the bearers to the place of interment, seven sets of men relieving each other.

In the parsonage were born eleven children to Timothy and Esther Edwards, the fifth being Jonathan. All the others were girls, called, on account of their unusual height, "Jonathan's sixty feet of sisters."

A descendent of the family has preserved a quaint letter, written more than two hundred and twenty-five years ago, by Mrs. Esther Warham (Mather) Stoddard to her daughter, Mrs. Timothy Edwards, on the occasion of the birth of her son, Jonathan Edwards.

Northampton, Dec. 7, 1703.

Dear Daughter—God be thanked for your safe delivery, and raising you up again. We are under mixt dispensa-

tions. Eliakim is not, and Eunice is not [children by her first husband, Eleazor Mather], and it hath pleased God to take away your dear brother Isreal also, who was taken by the enemy and carried to a place called Brest, in France, and being ready to be transported into England, was taken sick of a fever and died there, as we understand by a letter from the crews-master of the ship, now in London. It is a heavy stroak to us, added to the former, and we, David-like, mourn every day. I had not done mourning for the former, but God hath added grief to my sorrow. What shall I say? It becomes me Aaron-like to hold my peace. God grant that I may, with Job, come as gold out of the fire when I have been tried. I hope you and the rest of my children will learn by these awful stroaks so to number your days as to apply your hearts with wisdom. We see by these instances that our days may be very few here, and when and how we shall be taken out of this world, God only knows. Therefore we had need to be ready, seeing we know not what hour our Lord will come. The time is short, and it may be very short to us that remains, as was to your sister and brother. One day made a great change in my dear daughter's condition. Son Williams is satisfied that she is now in glory, as you may see by the letter which I send you, which when you have perused I would have you let your sister Mix read and inclose it in a paper and send to my son Warham, with the news of my grandson, Stephen Williams, arriving safe with some other captives at Boston. But I must be short, lest I should miss of an opportunity of sending this. I bid you farewell and subscribe myself as your sorrowing mother.

ESTHER STODDARD

P.S.—I would have sent you half a thousand pins and a porrenger of marmalet, if I had an opportunity. If any of

your town come up and would call here, I would send it. Give my love to son Edwards and your children.

The daughter Eunice mentioned above, married the Rev. John Williams. The entire family was captured by the Indians, two children and the mother murdered and a daughter Eunice carried away. She was brought up by the Indians, adopted the Roman Catholic faith, and married an Indian, John de Rogers. The "Sister Mix" referred to was Mary Stoddard, who married the Rev. Stephen Mix, of Wethersfield, Conn.

Mrs. H. M. Plunkelt in an interesting article on Timothy Edwards' daughters, called "Ten co-educated Girls" says, "—as the minds of the ten girls began to unfold the Father undertook to teach them himself, there being no schools convenient. He had beneath his own roof a school with a high standard, and Harvard and Yale always accepted Mr. Edwards' students without examination. That he held his daughters to the same standard is proved by the fact that when called away from home as he often was, he left the instruction in Latin and Greek to them, directing them in his letter that they "fail not to hear the recitations of the young men"; and in his note-book where he records the three shillings per week paid him by his pupils, he also enters the time expended by his daughters."

These girls were pretty and animated, not the proverbial blue-stockings, and had their mother's

sympathetic nature. What an interesting picture is that of those co-educated girls, some of them seated from time to time with their brother and the young students on the bench that ran around three sides of the room and listening with respectful attention to the teaching of that gifted scholar, Timothy Edwards. We are told that Timothy and, later, his son, built a little booth down the hill by the brookside, where they might have seclusion and quiet thought; and it is easy to believe that sometimes that lively group of girls might have made some sort of a "den" desirable! But Timothy realized the value of contact with circles other than his own, and the girls, one by one, were sent to Boston to enjoy superior advantages there.

Two of the daughters died, one at eighteen and one at twenty-one, and a third who remained single, was her father's helper as long as he lived. Seven were married and to men who made history. The invitation to the wedding of Elizabeth, who in 1724 married Colonel Jabez Huntington of Windham, is preserved. It reads: "Sir, this comes from myself and my wife as an invitation to yourself and sister to my daughter Betty's wedding—the day intended for which is the next Tuesday. I do therefore request you both to be at my house on that occasion on that day, at about three of the clock in the afternoon—whereby you will oblige me, Sir. Yours to serve you, Timothy Edwards."

These invitations were probably delivered by the

hand of one of Mr. Edwards' slaves, "the negro fellow" for whom, as Esther Burr, his granddaughter, mentions in her diary, prayers were offered "that he may be a blessing and a comfort to us"; and whom Mr. Edwards records as having cost him £200, whereas he had formerly been able to purchase a servant for £90, the difference probably in part being due to the prevailing depreciation of paper money.

We can picture the ceremonious albeit sprightly company which gathered in the old living room, wearing beautiful, dainty clothing, for the strictness of the Puritan dress had been done away with, as witness the little frivolous, high heeled white satin shoes belonging to Mary Edwards, which, together with a scarf and apron embroidered by her, are now in the Athenæum at Hartford. The shoes, perhaps, were worn by her sister at sister Betty's wedding.

A daughter of Betty Edwards and Jabez Huntington married Colonel Abraham Davenport, who said, when "the dark day" of 1780 found the Connecticut legislature assembled in a room so dark that business could not be continued and an adjournment was proposed; "The Day of Judgment either *is* or is *not* approaching—if it is *not* there is no cause for adjournment—if it *is* I wish to be found doing my duty—let candles be brought."

Jonathan's wife was Sarah Pierpont, descendant of a Nottinghamshire family in England, and among their grandsons were Timothy Dwight, eighth pres-

ident of Yale College, Theodore Woolsey, his successor, and Aaron Burr, who was vice-president of the United States and defeated for the presidency by one vote.

Esther, daughter of Timothy Edwards, married the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Springfield, and Anne married John Ellsworth of East Windsor. Eunice married the Rev. Simon Backus of Newington; Abigail, William Metcalf of Lebanon (Harvard 1727); Hannah, Seth Wetmore of Middletown; and Martha, the Rev. Moses Tuttle of Greenwich. These women with their distinguished brother stand at the head of one line of what Holmes has called "the Brahmin Caste of New England"; and wherever we find their posterity, we are apt to find both intellectual achievement and moral worth.

Introducing Dr. Bacon, Bishop Brewster said:

It is fitting that today's programme should include a grandson of one of our most eloquent divines of the nineteenth century. It will be our privilege to hear from an eminent scholar who has added much honor to a name that has been honored for generation after generation—the Rev. Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon.

THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JONATHAN EDWARDS

BENJAMIN WISNER BACON

STANDING under the open skies of this quiet New England village, a place not very different in its present state from what it was one hundred and five years ago, when my grandfather, Leonard Bacon, was ordained an evangelist, or from what it had been one hundred years before that, when Jonathan Edwards had just left it to take up his life work at Northampton, I am reminded of words recently quoted by Dr. Reiland as to the infinities that are open to the most secluded:

> *I saw eternity the other night*
> *Like a great ring of pure and endless light*
> *All calm as it was bright*

To us, who range hither and thither and hurry about the outer world of travel, no less than the inner world opened to us by great libraries, how cribbed, cabined, and confined must seem the seclusion of these scenes of Edwards' youth! How narrow even those of his college years at Wethersfield and New Haven, enlarged but little at Northampton and Stockbridge where his great work was done! It recalls the still greater seclusion of Kant, the greatest philosopher of the succeeding generation, at the little town of

Koenisgberg in East Prussia. Narrow perhaps; but the flight of such minds beyond all the confines of space recalls also the words of the Psalmist:

When I consider Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained,
Lord, what is man that Thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man that Thou visitest him!

To such minds there is an infinite depth within, to them truly "the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork."

It is the fashion of our time to decry theology, if not religion as well. Such was not the judgment of Thomas Carlyle, who declared religion to be "the deepest thing in man." To give adequate expression to the theological significance of Jonathan Edwards —and theology, remember, is only systematic and ordered thought about religion—you should have had with you today my late colleague, Williston Walker, or at least some systematic theologian, such as I am not. Concerning the astonishing intellectual power displayed in his reconstruction of the Calvinistic theology of Edwards' time I can only quote to you the tribute of others. Daniel Webster called Edwards' treatise on the *Freedom of the Will* "the greatest achievement of the human intellect." Certainly to read its close reasoning through from start to finish with due valuation of its logic is no small achievement of the human intellect. One appreciates thus

what concentration can produce in a mind disciplined like that of Edwards. For we know that at the age of six he had mastered the elements of Latin, at ten had written a dissertation on the immateriality of the soul, at twelve a scientific study of the habits of the flying spider; while in his later years at Stockbridge, according to the testimony of Hopkins, his closest intimate, it was his custom to spend thirteen hours a day in close mental application to his studies. Dexter, the best qualified appraiser of distinction among the graduates of Yale, calls Edwards "the most eminent graduate of the College, the greatest theologian of his century, the ablest metaphysician between Leibnitz and Kant."

But these are mere tributes to his intellectual power. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, founder of the Free Church of Scotland, able and eloquent both as preacher and teacher, expresses a deeper appreciation. Chalmers perceives that it was no mere intellectual impulse that gave to Edwards his fundamental motive. Never lived there a man of whom it could be more truly said in the words of a great German divine, "It is the heart that makes the theologian." From boyhood days at college Edwards gave his life, absolutely and without reserve, to the work of the ministry. We should think of him first as the evangelist to whom more than to any other is due the Great Awakening of the New England Churches.

This movement began with the gathering in to

Edwards' church in Northampton, a church of only two hundred families, of more than three hundred converts within a period of six months; it extended within a few decades throughout the colonies; and though followed by reaction and dispute, it continued in successive waves of revival down to the period of our own memory. We must also think of Edwards as the mystic wrapt like a Dante in devout contemplation, lost in the love of God, delighting in the beauty and glory of the creation. We must think of him as the unflinching pastor of his flock defying humiliation, poverty and exile, breaking unsparingly the ties of friendship and esteem in defence—a just defence—of the Puritan and Christian principle of full regeneration as the condition of fellowship in the Lord's supper. All this we must remember when tempted to picture him as the cold metaphysician, the unpractical devotee of theological hairsplitting. Chalmers does better justice to Edwards' real nature when, after saying: "I have long esteemed Edwards as the greatest of theologians," he follows up this intellectual appraisement by pointing out how Edwards "realized in his own person a most rare harmony between the simplicity of the Christian pastor and the prowess of a giant in philosophy." Like every great evangelist from the Apostle Paul to Dwight L. Moody, Edwards preached from the vital experience of his own heart. Without that his words, spoken or written, would have been

powerless, "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

The theologian developed only after the great days of revivalism, after the crucifixion submitted to without complaint at the hands of the Northampton church where he had given twenty-three years of unparalleled service. Rusticated in the little frontier church at Stockbridge, hopefully giving himself to the conversion of the Indians, a work which was prosecuted by John Eliot and by his own intended son-in-law, David Brainerd, Edwards turned to the composition of his great theological treatises as the highest service he could still render to the world. The first of these was that entitled *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will which is Supposed to be Essential to Moral Agency*, 1754. Refutation it has never met, though attempts have not been wanting. The world has not refuted Edwards. It has simply moved away from him. His denial of real freedom of choice was as absolute as that of any of the necessitarians of today. From the time when in his college days he greedily devoured Locke's famous *Essay on the Human Understanding*, Edwards had brought the high Calvinism of his religious upbringing and experience into uncompromising agreement with the doctrine that human choice is invariably the greatest apparent good; that is, men never make any choice otherwise than at the time seems to them most desirable. On this condition, and on this alone, as Edwards believed, could the absolute sover-

eignty and determinate foreknowledge of God be maintained. His fundamental conflict was for these two doctrines of Calvinism against the prevailing Arminianism of his day, a doctrine which tended more and more to exalt man's part in the determination of his own destiny. To realize what Edwards' revival of Calvinism meant for his day and later, we must pause briefly to consider the conditions of the time.

In our day we have practically made up our minds to let the ancient problem die for lack of interest. Common sense, or what we take to be common sense, assures us every day that we are real, free agents, responsible for our choices, whether good or bad. The necessitarians call this mere illusion. They tell us that we never really act contrary to inclination, and proceed to adduce as proof the behavior of animals and human beings alike.

In Edwards' time conditions were different. He himself, in his boyhood, had felt the natural impulse of rebellion against the Calvinistic doctrine of the divine decrees; but with the triumph of his mind and spirit in mystical assurance of the absolute goodness and wisdom of God he had come to realize that there is no possibility of happiness or well being for a divided universe. To him the Calvinistic doctrine of the ultimate triumph of right in the undisputed sovereignty of God, against which he had at first rebelled, was the only solution of the awful problem of evil. No wonder it came ultimately to ap-

pear "most sweet, bright and comforting." Filled with a sense no less vivid than ours of today of the hideous travesty human greed and cruelty have made of a world of beauty and joy such as its Creator intended, Edwards could not but exult in his conviction of the divine triumph-to-be with something akin to the exultation of Christ's own words to his timid following: "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure"—His unchangeable, irresistible decree—"to give you the kingdom." That is just the characteristic of the old high Calvinism of the days of the Reformation and the Huguenot martyrs, the days of the rise of the Dutch Republic and the English Commonwealth, the days of Cranmer and Latimer and the Puritan martyrs, the days of Cromwell and Milton in England, and of the Pilgrim Fathers in America. It made men fearless and heroic in the face of those who "kill the body and after that have no more that they can do."

Fear God, ye saints, and ye shall then
Have nothing else to fear

was its daily lesson, and it was nobly learned.

What Arminian evangelism could do to check the flood of irreligion was still to be demonstrated at the hands of the Wesleys after the Great Awakening had revolutionized religious New England. In Edwards' time Arminianism meant rather that general lassitude and indifference which had invaded the

churches during the century of safe and easy prosperity that had succeeded to the strenuous days of the Pilgrims and the Commonwealth.

The ill concealed monument of the decline and weakening of high Calvinism in Edwards' day was the Half-way Covenant system, then almost universally prevalent among the churches, and carried to the limit in Edwards' church at Northampton, where he had gone as associate minister with his maternal grandfather, Solomon Stoddard. Here admission was allowed to the Lord's Supper itself of persons making no profession of regeneration or real self-dedication, merely because they had been baptized and wished to transmit to their children whatever privileges of grace might be bestowed through the church. Stoddard held that participation in the sacrament was itself a means of grace of educative value, whether the participant had placed his life under the direction of the divine Spirit or not. The young successor to whom Stoddard's death committed the flock after only two years of service, had before him a gigantic task, not for the Northampton church alone, but for all the neighbor churches and in fact for the Reformed and the Puritan faith far and wide.

To Edwards' stand for regeneration as the condition of full church membership, and the cost it entailed upon him, we have already adverted. His work as preacher and evangelist required more. To carry out the ministry to which he had given himself, both

body and soul, Edwards must uphold the absolute sovereignty of God, making it purely and simply a matter of unpredictable divine grace whether a man should be saved or not; and at the same time he must supply a motive of compelling power to induce men to make every sacrifice for their souls' salvation. They must make the sacrifices with no assurance whatever that their most agonizing wrestlings with the flesh would avail them the slightest alleviation of endless torment. The fact that Edwards could do, and did do, both these things, the fact that he left behind him a school of New England theologians which, whatever their faults and differences, made the religious history of the next century a history of vital religious thought in amazing contrast with the preceding century of blind acceptance of the prescribed doctrines of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, and that at the same time he roused the laity of all the churches to such a pitch of earnestness as had never before been experienced, is sufficient proof of the greatness of the man. Edwards was evangelist first, theologian afterwards; but how were these two compatible?

The average man of culture today knows Edwards chiefly by what are known as the "imprecatory sermons," especially by the sermon preached at Enfield in aid of a campaign of evangelism to which the people of that church had shown their coldness, even manifesting toward the preacher himself their atti-

tude of indifference if not hostility. Edwards published it later under the title *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*. Descriptions both of the sermon and of its appalling effect are too well known to call for repetition. What the average man, even the man of culture, fails to appreciate today is that this "preaching of hell-fire," as it is called, was the universal method of the times. It was the deadly sincerity of the preacher, not oratorical endowments or pulpit rhetoric, which made the message effective.

The history of Calvinism reveals a series of "glacial epochs" when in colloquial language "hell freezes over." In the judgment of many we are near the culmination of such a "glacial epoch" today. In Edwards' time the general feeling was that much the same conditions of indifference prevailed. One may well doubt if today such a sermon as *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* would have any useful effect, no matter how deep the conviction of the preacher; but in the middle of the eighteenth century men's minds were differently moulded. It cannot be said that the Enfield sermon brought about perpetual spring, but the story of the Great Awakening proves that it and others like it brought about at least a considerable thaw.

It cannot be too often reiterated that Edwards' theology was no mere academic revival of an outworn creed. It was the vital expression both of his own deep religious experience and of extraordinarily keen and judicious observation of those remarkable

scenes of religious revival which he himself describes in his *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls,* etc. 1737. Edwards had plenty of opportunity for studying varieties of religious experience, and he did not neglect it.

Conversion, according to him, is of something deeper, more fundamental than the will, for the only freedom he allows to the will is choice of the greatest good apparent at the time. Conversion is change of the perverse inclination which makes men follow the road to evil, not only in ignorance but even with wide-open eyes. Conversion is not, and from its very nature, or better from man's perverted nature, cannot be the work of man. It must be absolutely and solely the work of a sovereign God, electing or hardening whom He will for reasons to us inscrutable.

This was by no means all theological hairsplitting and Calvinistic theory. It was based upon the keenest observation of actual phenomena, phenomena of Edwards' own religious experience, phenomena of the "surprising work of God"—note the ascription of agency—"in the conversion of many hundred souls" in Edwards' own parish. Edwards had been an awed eyewitness of the working of God in redemption, that world-redemption whose history he aspired to write and left unfinished when death stayed his hand.

Necessitarians and behaviorists in our own time have found occasion to renew the ancient theoretic

debate from an aspect scarcely considered hitherto. Edwards' answer to Locke has been abandoned in our time, but we have not abandoned his effort to find at least a practical solution. He was the Great Awakener for theological thought in his time, no less than for revivalist and missionary activity. Before him theology had slumbered for a hundred years. New England was content to subscribe unthinkingly to Westminster or Savoy Confession, raising no questions of faith but only of polity. After Edwards there was a veritable resurrection of religious thought as well as religious activity. Men blame his theology as the source of the great schisms which rent New England, and indeed the Protestant world, soon after his decease; the Unitarian schism which divided the churches of Massachusetts and the Universalist which made a corresponding rift in those of Connecticut, the secession of the Methodist and other church fellowships which involved the breaking away of theological training from the universities. It is true that men who think must differ. Coincidence of creed is proof only of want of thought, and Edwards restored to Puritanism the power to think.

It is fitting that I should leave to the last the work of Edwards as the originator of the Great Awakening. Not this, but his work as a theologian, was the part assigned to me. But, as I hope I have been able to show, Edwards' significance as a theologian rests largely on his experience as a sober-minded but mar-

vellously successful evangelist. He did not originate, he only inherited the method of the so-called "imprecatory sermons." From the very beginnings of Christianity, nay from before its beginnings in the warning cry of John the Baptist to "Flee from the wrath to come," the fire of coming judgment has been the spearpoint of Christian propaganda. Compare the statement of Paul himself concerning what manner of entering in he had at Thessalonica, how they "turned from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven even Jesus which *delivereth us from the wrath to come*" and see if in this I do not speak sober truth. Compare Paul's outline to the Roman church of that "gospel" for which he stood, an outline which formed the first Christian theology, confessedly the basis for that of Origen and Augustine, Calvin and Edwards, and see if it does not seek first of all to convince a guilty world of its need of salvation from the impending "wrath of God."

The moralist must study motives, higher and lower. Edwards found on the one side a moral torpor for which the high Calvinism of his creed offered no remedy save to stab it into sensibility by the fear of concrete hell. Conversion, to Edwards, was the work of God alone.But man could turn his thought within, diligently seeking the reassuring trace of God's inworking. Man could not *effect* conversion, but man could and did *discover* it. Hence that desperate, often

morbid self-analysis of the New England conscience, described by Edwards himself in his *Life of David Brainerd.*

The significance of Edwards for theology is that he took Paul and Calvin in deadly earnest in the midst of a generation that did not. The fruit of his devoted labor was a Great Awakening of the Puritan church, an awakening not only of its sentiments, but of its intellect as well. The awakening of feeling brought a century of revivalism together with its attendent evils of emotional reaction, 'burnt over districts' where real religious character was slow to revive under methods of personal evangelism which owed more to the *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* than to the *Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notions of the Freedom of the Will.* The awakening of religious thought brought its attendant train of schism, strife and intolerance to a generation still clinging to uniformity of belief instead of unity of purpose as the basis of church fellowship.

Edwards' revival of Calvinism failed to stem the swelling tide of Arminian belief in man's free agency. He did not solve the age-long problem of predestination and free will. But he aroused men of intellectual power and Christian consecration to appreciate its practical significance and prepared Puritan Christianity for struggles to come in defence of the doctrine of divine grace against a theory of necessitarian law which degrades humanity to the level of

the brutes and makes all moral achievement a chimera.

For the battle of theology is not done. Man is still neither angel nor brute, but on his way. We know not what we shall be, says the Apostle, but already we have been called 'children of God,' and we have not yet lost from sight the example of one who set before us this ideal. Still we find "a law of sin in our members warring against the law of our mind, bringing us into captivity to sin and death." Still we find also, thank God, "a law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus" making us free indeed, effecting what the commandment could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, so that "we walk not after the flesh but after the spirit." The task of theology today is not to expound the system of Paul, or Augustine, or Calvin, or Edwards, mere "ministers through whom we believed," but to welcome their testimony and construe the facts again after the example of their heroic faith in the guidance of the eternal Spirit of Truth.

Introducing Professor Andrews, Bishop Brewster said:

Jonathan Edwards stands out as a potent factor in our Colonial history. About all this we are now to hear from a distinguished historian, belonging to a family of distinction. I have pleasure in presenting Dr. Charles M. Andrews, Professor of American History in Yale University.

JONATHAN EDWARDS

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

IT is no part of my task today, in these commemoration exercises, to venture into the field which justly belongs to the student of theology and metaphysics. The questions are too subtle and abstract for the mere historian, so I ask you to allow me to deal with those features of Jonathan Edwards' life and influence that are chiefly historical and biographical. But I warn you beforehand that the story of Jonathan Edwards is less the history of a life than the analysis of a mind.

Jonathan Edwards was born in 1703, the son of Timothy Edwards and the grandson of Solomon Stoddard, both religious leaders of high rank among the Congregational clergy of their time. In the environment of his early years, he felt the impress not only of his masculine forebears, which in the case of his grandfather was unquestionably great, but in some respects even more of his mother and wife, the first of whom, Esther Stoddard, was a woman of exceptional intellectual attainments, who transmitted to her son—the only son in a family of eleven children—that which was Edwards' most marked personal characteristic, his tremendous mental vigor and energy. To his wife, whom he married when she was seventeen and he twenty-four, he owed not only relief from

household and financial care, but comfort, solace, and even inspiration in things of the spirit, for Sarah Pierpont, according to a contemporary, had learned even a shorter way to heaven than her husband. Whitefield, who visited Edwards and his wife at their Northampton home, was so impressed with the perfect relations existing between them that for several months afterwards he prayed the Lord that he would send him a similar daughter of Abraham to be his wife.

The influence of these hereditary factors in Edwards' early years was manifestly great. Jonathan had no boyhood in the usual sense of the term. He exhibited an early precocity that is somewhat troublesome for the modern mind to contemplate. He was no romping, playful, careless, indifferent lad, of the type common enough at all times, out of which some strange alchemic process produces a man of parts and power. He was delicate and docile and eager to learn of the mysteries of his being and the nature of his own soul. The five sisters who were older than he exercised no little influence upon him in the formation of his character and the superintendence of his studies. He mastered Latin at six, entered Yale at thirteen, read through with zest Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* at fourteen, and from that early date began to fashion his philosophy of life and faith in a series of note books, containing chapters on "Mind," "The Scriptures," the "Natural Sciences," out of which he hoped some day to create a

book embracing almost the entire scope of human learning. This from a boy still in his 'teens finds parallel only with such cases as those of John C. Calhoun, who was a year younger when he read Locke, or Lecky who at twenty-two actually published a book entitled, *The Religious Tendencies of the Age.*

Called to Northampton in 1726—he was then only twenty-three years old—as the colleague of his grandfather, the venerable Solomon Stoddard, he entered upon his duties the next year; and in 1729, on Stoddard's death, he assumed full charge of the congregation. For twenty-three years he labored with ever expanding success, admired by his people who gloried in his extraordinary intellectual powers and widely extended reputation. But in 1750, there arose a serious case of church discipline, involving many of the young people, who had become addicted to the practice of reading forbidden books. What these books were we do not know. On his side Edwards was probably neither tactful nor discreet; and the situation was the more acute because some of his influential parishioners were opposed to his views regarding church membership and his doctrine of justification while others disliked him for his spirituality and his cold and saintly demeanor. As a result, in a moment of popular delirium, which in one form or another was characteristic of Puritan New England, he was dismissed ungraciously and with little regard for reason or justice. Accepting his discharge in a manly

and Christian temper, he preached a farewell sermon, which, says Sprague, "for awful solemnity and deep pathos has been rarely equalled"; and within less than a year he withdrew to Stockbridge in western Massachusetts, where he served as a missionary to the Housatonic tribe of Indians. Here he continued for six years, during which he wrote some of his most famous treatises. On the death of his son-in-law, the Reverend Aaron Burr, he was called to the presidency of the college of New Jersey, at Princeton; and there he died, three months after entering upon the duties of his office. It is interesting to note that he and his father, Timothy, died the same year, the father just three months before his distinguished son. Timothy and his wife are buried in the adjoining burial ground; Jonathan, his wife, and daughter Esther, the wife of the Rev. Aaron Burr, are all buried at Princeton.

Let us for a moment take a look at New England during the period of Edwards' early experiences. The years after 1700 were still dominated by the Mathers and their school in Boston, who endeavored to retain unimpaired the rigid Puritan standards of the founders. One effect of the Mather tradition upon the younger generation was intellectual and spiritual stagnation, a condition that challenged such thinkers as Edwards and eventually led to the revival known as the Great Awakening, a movement which loosened the entire Puritan system and affected in one

way or another the religious life of all the colonies. On the part of those who adhered to the old orthodoxy it was a time of morbid introspection, of self-debasement, and of an almost mystical contemplation of God and the future life. The Puritan spirit was becoming ossified, retaining the language and methods of an older day, and showing but few traces of new vigor or growth. Progress, as we understand it was foreign to Puritan thought, for the clergy of that day could find nothing about it in the scriptures or in the divine plan as mapped out by the Puritan theologian. They did not believe in change, much less in progress. They were troubled about their souls. They believed that standards of conduct and ways of life were governed by fixed rules of morality; that obedience to the word and will of God was the measure of man's worthiness on earth and that man's earthly existence was but a time of trial and probation.

Unless we accept this fundamental fact that to the Puritan clerical mind of the early eighteenth century man was vile and worthless, capable in his natural state of acts of the greatest baseness against God, and possessed of no power of himself to discriminate between good and evil, we cannot grasp the significance of the doctrine that formed Edwards' theological inheritance and background.

While thus among the devout and serious followers of the old Puritan orthodoxy, religion was losing its vitality and reproductive power, and was

tending toward formalism and a kind of ascetic and mystical speculation, important changes were beginning to take place in the outside world. New religious bodies were entering New England and were drawing away from the fold of Congregationalism more and more of its former members. Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and especially Anglicans were increasing in number, slowly extending their area of influence and breaking in upon the homogeneity of the old Puritan system. Of these the Anglicans, under the influence of the missionaries of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and especially of three famous bishops in England, Compton, Robinson, and Gibson, began to gain important ground in America and to invade New England. It cannot be said that these rival and intruding bodies were particularly progressive in their religious ideas, for they, as well as the Calvinists, were still medieval in their view of man's place in the world. In fact, their menace to New England Puritanism was rather in the field of politics than of theology, for they were attacking the solidarity of the ruling, standing order and thus disturbing the clear-cut and consistent relationship that had hitherto existed between the church and the state.

But two other factors, equally important, must be taken into account. One was the indifference of the people at large, of which Benjamin Trumbull tells us in his history of Connecticut, of the falling off in

membership in the churches, the turning more and more of the younger generation to worldly pleasures, loose living, the neglect of prayer and religion. The other was the gradual encroachment within the Puritan orthodox order itself of easier and more liberal views of religious obligations and practice. Arminianism was the arch-enemy of Calvinism, in that it upheld the freedom of the will, and, as the Calvinists saw it, put a check upon the absolute character of God's sovereignty and moral government. It also defended the moral responsibility of man and so lessened the absolute importance of God in human affairs, and in general magnified man at the expense of God, denying the limitation of God's grace to the elect whom God had chosen. Similarly the doctrine embodied in the Half-way Covenant, whereby any baptized person was admitted to the civil privileges of church membership and at a later time to the Lord's Supper, without making profession of religious experience, was wrecking the exclusive prerogatives of those who were converted and so were glorified and set apart as the elect of God.

Now what was the effect of these conditions and ideas upon Jonathan Edwards' intellectual development? In attempting to estimate a man's contribution one must try to see, in the first place to what extent he is a child of his period, and then to what extent he is a prophet and a seer. Jonathan Edwards was born and brought up in this atmosphere of ortho-

doxy, tempered by the somewhat more liberal views of his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, and by the growing popular interest in the more comfortable doctrines of Arminianism. Beyond others of his day he was early wrestling with religious perplexities, constantly framing religious problems in the effort to find out just what were his duties toward God, what should be the character of the preparation of the soul for conversion, the extent of his guiltiness and its corresponding punishment, and the right methods to be sought in assuaging the wrath of an angry Creator. Even in his youth he showed the characteristic for which he later became famous, that of grappling with a problem and solving it.

He believed that the period in which he was living was a time of apostacy and confusion; that the foundations of religion were crumbling and the high ideals of the fathers were giving way to the inferior standards of a lower social and religious level; that fallen man was overwhelmed in luxury, wickedness, and disregard for religion. Therefore, quite naturally and logically, he set his face definitely against the liberalizing tendencies of his day and sought to awaken the soul that he believed was sinking into apathy. He opposed Arminianism and the Half-way Covenant, believed profoundly in the doctrine of Election, upheld the independence of each individual church and the authority of the standing order. Thus, he had a mind trained in the spirit of Calvin-

ism and in sympathy with its teachings. It is difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that Edwards brought the weight of his powerful intellect to bear against what we now see was human nature beginning to assert itself or, in other words, against the progressive movements of his time. Today we would say that the younger generation, in order to attain a richer and more varied life, was breaking away from the limitations and confinements of the older Puritan house of religious bondage. But Edwards did not see it in that light. Having become convinced that there was but one way whereby man could conform to the wishes and intentions of God, he used every means at his command, argument, exhortation, metaphor, and terror, to force men and women to mend their ways and submit to the divine omnipotence of God. He was himself so stirred by profound religious emotions, sharpened by an intellect of marvelous acuteness, that he impressed his hearers, as he has impressed many a reader since, with the belief that in a peculiar degree he seemed to walk with God. But it was a good and a divine world, created by a process of intense, a priori, abstract reasoning, supplemented by interpretation of the Bible, such as never before had been conceived, on a similar scale, by any theological thinker.

Only by studying the spirit of the times and the temperament and force of this man can we grasp and appreciate what are known as the "Imprecatory Ser-

mons," particularly that one preached at Enfield in the month of July, 1741. In these he laid down the doctrine of endless punishment, in a form unsurpassed if not unequalled in the whole range of Christian literature. These sermons are marked by a realistic perfection of detail and a vehemence of expression that to the modern mind is little short of shocking. But Edwards had before him a congregation that according to the historian Trumbull, was "secure, loose, and vain," which greeted the preacher with an air of indifference and thoughtlessness, and with a manner lacking in common decency. The sermon, afterwards printed, entitled *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* was terroristic in its character and designedly so. Edwards bore down upon this people with a picture of the wrath of God that was alive with details of physical torture, immediate and eternal. The imprecatory sermons are the lashing with scorpions of a people who seemed wholly indifferent to God's will. Edwards was possessed of a coldly logical mind, a burning devotion to his cause, a vivid imagination, and a masterful will. His purpose was clear and his methods were those of a fanatical evangelist searing as with hot irons a recalcitrant congregation, that he might frighten them into obedience to the divine will.

There is ample evidence throughout his writings to show that a morbid liking for such cruel punishment was neither physical nor personal with the great

preacher. In his *Distinguishing Marks of the Work of the Spirit,* and in his *Treatise on the Religious Affections* we find over and over again references to divine love and the sweet influences of the Spirit, to Christ's spiritual, divine beauty, infinite grace and undying love, utterances that are often forcible and beautiful, portraying the superiority of the spiritual side of religious life. He can go as far as to say that what people need is, not to have their heads stored with knowledge of the doctrinal points of religion, so much as to have their hearts touched with warmth of devotion; that there is something else besides terror to be preached. He would use terror where it was needed; but once the sinner's heart was turned to God he would talk only of God's love. Later in life he seems to have realized the unwisdom of the terroristic method, for he advised the ministry to be careful "how they discompose and ruffle the minds of those that they esteem carnal men or how great an uproar they raise in the carnal world, and so lay blocks in the way of the propagation of religion." Again, in his essay on virtue, he comes as near as he ever came at any time to the idea that love was the central principle of creation and the law of all created existence. Always there were two sides to this man in conflict with each other; the intellectual side, which with inexorable logic drove him to almost fanatical extremes; the other the emotional and mystical side, which expressed his gentler nature and allies him, as has often

been pointed out, with Dante, the Quakers, and the transcendental school of Emerson. It is quite possible that had Edwards lived to perfect his system, which is nowhere worked out at all points or made in all aspects logically consistent, he would have gone much further in stressing love as the very essence of the spirit of God.

Edwards' place in history is as a leader in that remarkable movement in the religious life of the colonies, known as the Great Awakening. This is the term given by the historian Trumbull, to the first great religious revival in the history of the American people, extending from Massachusetts to Georgia, under the lead of revivalists of unusual power. The Great Awakening, lasting only four or five years, was a spasmodic effort, to escape from the religious lethargy, already noted, of the mid-eighteenth century. This revival, which had early antecedents in five outbursts of religious fervor during the ministrations of Edwards' grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, in Northampton, really began in the year 1734 when under Jonathan Edwards' own guidance, an intense and general religious excitement pervaded the same town. It had its origin in Edwards' preaching on the subject of the immediate action of the divine spirit upon the human soul, which he made the foundation of his doctrine of conversion. When the movements under Stoddard had spent their force, and an extraordinary religious dullness seemed to have set-

tled once more upon the town as it had upon other towns, Edwards began a series of sermons on justification by faith, the justice of God in the damnation of sinners, the excellency of Christ, and the duty of pressing into the kingdom of God. This movement has been elaborately described by Edwards himself in his *Narrative of Surprising Conversions*, which presents in an extraordinarily vivid manner that first phase of a religious awakening in New England. In 1740 by a whirlwind evangelization campaign, in which the prime movers were George Tennent and George Whitefield, this revival was carried throughout the colonies, and under the guidance of Whitefield and Wesley penetrated even England and Scotland. This campaign, by employing every emotional device to stir the people at large to a sense of their wickedness in the eyes of God, certainly aroused the conscience of the people, but it also led to many errors and abuses and awakened indignation among the clergy by Whitefield's insistence on the danger of an unconverted ministry. Opposition was expressed in pulpits, newspapers, and other media of publicity and since that time has taken the form of adverse judgments of a negative and cynical character. But the present day historian, making all allowance for the frailties of this as of other revivalist campaigns, looks upon this phenomena as the most potent force in the America of that time, for it challenged the fundamental tenets of Calvinism, stirred up shallows in the

minds of many colonists, and consequently readjusted many points of view in religious things to the lasting benefit of the Christian Church in America. There can be no doubt but that Edwards gave the first impulse to this American phase of an international and interdenominational wave of emotionalism, which found in Whitefield its greatest leader, and which undoubtedly exercised a permanent influence upon the religious life of the American colonies. Edwards' share in this movement is to the historian of the colonies his chief claim to a place among the great religious leaders of his time.

Next in importance to our appreciation of Edwards' place in the history of the Great Awakening, comes our enjoyment of and admiration for the workings of his powerful and productive mind. However we may estimate his theology, there can be no question of the greatness of the mental powers with which he was endowed or of his disregard of self in carrying to the uttermost reaches of analysis the convictions that lay within him. As a monument of abstract, speculative theorizing, his writings will always have a high place in the theological literature of the Christian church; and as specimens of logic they are unmatched anywhere in the world. A few are narratives or descriptions, many are sermons; one only attempts to deal with history—*The History of the Redemption*, which sets forth Edwards' philosophy of history, the central theme of which was to over-

come the effects of the fall of man. This idea he developed in a voluminous work of 400 pages, filled with speculation rather than facts regarding the evolution of a God-centered, not a man-centered world. Of his other works the greatest is *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections,* which from the standpoint of the modern leader is far more constructive than is the *Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will,* commonly looked upon as his most powerful and controversial contribution to theological literature. Much of his work is polemical in character. He was answering those, who, like the Arminians were endeavoring to encroach upon the strongholds of Calvinism and to break down the hedge, which the Puritans of New England had erected against the wild beasts of the field.

Edwards is interesting today, not because of his scheme of theology or of any particular contribution that he has made to religious thought, but because of the circumstances of his life, the conditions under which he wrote, and the form in which his works were cast. In the pulpit Edwards was both eloquent and convincing and his sermons had the penetrating effect which comes from the power of direct appeal and the possession of unflinching integrity. In the presence of a congregation, reproving, exhorting, and warning, as by divine right, he was almost sublime. In his writings he rose to even greater heights of forcible argument, in which much regarding the

Calvinistic theology, which was, and still is, baffling, mysterious, and to the lay mind incomprehensible, is presented with the utmost ease, subtly and alluringly convincing to the mind in the mood to be convinced. Edwards seemed able to compose under any circumstances, without much regard to the material conditions surrounding his life. Thoughts came to him in such abundance that to relieve his mind he was compelled to commit them to paper. It mattered not where he wrote or when he wrote—whether in Northampton or at Stockbridge on Massachusetts' western frontier—whether jotting down notes as he walked, or rested, or rose from his bed at night to disburden an overstocked mind. In a day when paper was scarce, he wrote on whatever came to his hand, large sheets and small, scraps and fragments, margins of newspapers, and even the discarded patterns used in the family's millinery and dressmaking activities. His mind was ever at work, thinking, composing, fashioning ideas and arguments, within the prison house of its own narrow boundaries, the squirrel cage of its own incessant activity. Sir James Macintosh speaks of Edwards' power of subtle argument as perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men. When to this strength of the content is added the adornment of a beautiful style, exquisite choice of words, a poetic fire and mystic glow that lend richness and charm, and a power of simile, imagination and fertile imagery that closed points of

theological significance in the beautiful metaphors of nature, we can understand that even though Edwards' writings lack humor and the attic salt of wit, they will always have their place as parts of a living literature.

With exceptional personal qualities, sincerity, integrity, courage, and possessed of distinguished mental gifts, Jonathan Edwards stands today as the greatest interpreter of eighteenth century Puritanism of New England. As says the late Professor Williston Walker, the historian of Congregationalism, "it is a perception of Edwards' spiritual many-sidedness that has led others than those of the theological lineage that bears his name to lay claim to him as the master key that unlocks the meaning of the most various tendencies in the later history of New England thought." He sought to restore Calvinism not because of any devotion to it as a system of theology but because of Calvin's recognition of that which was the centre of his own religious experience, the sovereignty of God. Yet he wished to modify Calvinism by a greater insistence in the responsibility of man and by fostering a warm, emotional type of Christian character, touched and vivified by a sense of immediate communion between God and the human soul. In these modifications lies the significance of Edwards' contribution to the religious thought of today.

PRESENTATION OF THE GATEWAY

MRS. CHARLES M. ANDREWS, PRESIDENT

JUDGE GRANT:

ON behalf of the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames of America, whose representative I am today, I want to thank you and the citizens of South Windsor for your wholehearted and generous coöperation with us in the matter of the dedication of this gateway to the memory of one of your famous sons, Jonathan Edwards, whom we are here to honor. Without your advice and help, this occasion would have lost much of its meaning: whereas now we count you as friends with whom we are celebrating an event of common interest and importance.

We, the Committee on Historic Landmarks, representing our Society, came into your beautiful historic town as strangers (I beg of you not to let anything happen to spoil your fine old trees and lovely street) and such has been your sympathy and hospitality that we feel at home and find many doors opened to us as friends. That is as we would have it, that our landmarks should cement new friendships as well as mark historic spots.

You have left nothing undone to make this occasion successful. In the first place your efficient committee of men and women have put themselves and the town at our disposal. We appreciate, more than

we can tell you, the coöperation of the Cemetery Association in contributing to the burial ground the new metal fence which greatly enhances the beauty of our Gateway. Also, that we should be able to hold our exercises in this Masonic Lodge, so near the gateway and granting protection from the weather is itself a boon; and one has only to look about this pleasant room, so fresh and beautiful with its lovely flowers, to know that the ladies of the town have been most generous and gracious.

Please accept our warmest thanks for all your many courtesies and kindnesses. I only wish that we could place another landmark at once in beautiful South Windsor that we might have a good excuse for being with you again as one of you, for these contacts have given us great pleasure, and our experiences with and among you will remain among our happiest memories.

To you, Judge Grant, as representing both the town of South Windsor and the Cemetery Association, I, in behalf of the Society I am privileged to represent, am most happy to convey this gift and the keys of the Jonathan Edwards Memorial Gateway, which with your help we have dedicated today, hoping that it may serve as an inspiration to future generations of young Americans who may see it or perhaps grow up in its neighborhood, to follow in the footsteps of this distinguished son of Connecticut and New England.

Erected by
The Connecticut Society
of the
Colonial Dames
of
America
1929

North Pillar—West Front

The Homestead
of Timothy Edwards
where Jonathan was born
formerly stood
1200 feet south of this point
on the east side
of the highway

South Pillar—West Front

TIMOTHY EDWARDS
1669-1758
Father of Jonathan Edwards
First pastor of the
"Second Church of Windsor"
established at Windsor Farms
in 1694
which formerly stood
immediately north
of this burying ground
in which he and his wife
Esther Stoddard are buried

North Pillar—East Front

JONATHAN EDWARDS
1703-1758
Born at East Windsor
Died at Princeton, New Jersey
Pastor and Theologian
Tutor in Yale College
President College of New Jersey
and one of the leaders
in the Great Awakening
the first spontaneous movement
in the religious life
of the American people

South Pillar—East Front

ACCEPTANCE OF THE GATEWAY FOR THE TOWN OF SOUTH WINDSOR

JUDGE R. M. GRANT

MADAME PRESIDENT:

THE society, which you have the distinguished honor to represent, has erected this beautiful gateway dedicated to the earnest father and famous son, whose services and birth, respectively, are so conspicuous a part of the early history of that portion of ancient Windsor which is now the town of South Windsor.

The people of South Windsor ever believe that the leading of a Divine Providence gave to her the ministry of the Rev. Timothy Edwards during those most important formative years following the organization of the Second Church Society. They cherish, with pardonable pride, the fact that her soil gave birth to the illustrious Jonathan Edwards. Our lives have been enriched and our ideals enlarged as we have heard the eloquent tributes paid to these men by the speakers of the day, and we thank you for the occasion which permits to the people of South Windsor this privilege.

Your Society, in causing this fitting memorial to be erected, has again demonstrated that patriotic zeal for which it is famed. Composed as it is of able and active women, whose forebears shaped the destiny of

our beloved land during its colonial period, your activities are naturally directed to preserve the traditions and to perpetuate the memories of the conspicuous men and women of that era. Our state owes and is ever ready to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to your society for the effective accomplishments of its purposes in this respect.

You have chosen, as the site of your memorial, this ancient cemetery, a most happy choice, for here rest the ashes of many who were active participants in the stirring events of the colonial period. Here are the graves of men who participated in three colonial wars: Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; King George's War, 1744-1748; and the French-Indian War, 1756-1763.

In the defense of the colonies in 1745, Captain Ebenezer Grant, of this town, led a company of fifty men upon an expedition to Deerfield, Massachusetts. Here is his grave and those of fourteen of his comrades. May I add that I am credibly informed that this cemetery contains the graves of more soldiers of King George's War identified and marked than any one cemetery in this state.

The town of South Windsor deeply appreciates the act of The Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames of America in erecting this Memorial Gateway and in presenting it to this town, and through the Cemetery Association accepts the same. Our Cemetery Association has erected this metal fence which we

trust you will recognize as a tangible mark of our appreciation of your generous contribution to the notable objects within our borders. We are fully conscious of the trust that you have confided, and pledge to you and your society full performance of all the obligations that your gracious gift and its acceptance imposes.

C. P. R.

The Printing-Office of the Yale University Press

91
Prince

Date Due

JUN 30 2001

MR 10'59

OCT 20 59

MAR 10 '88

JUN 1 8 1982

SEP 18 1987

DEC 31 1987

MAY 20 1988

APR 30 1990

MAY 25 1990

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 01039 1987